136 of the dead. The following birds were named without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-
825 klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hohe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko´wo´-k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´ṭat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo´heno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m:k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h:l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap:´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´:n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (taṭahe ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat:k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t:l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n:ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´:ts ken:ts).[59]

The tarantula (ṭu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k:´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[59]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´´:ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´:ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

[192
828]

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
[263] salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[412] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

267 Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
136 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´p·s); minnows [?] (ta´k·č), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ta´tu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni´e´t·č); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´w·s); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

252 Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
262 strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

323 Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
[262] favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[NS] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

[263] [NS]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
192 also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

802
11. ti'uv yɛt 100. yɛt pːč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pːč
21. poñoi ṭi'uv yɛt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

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Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronunciation of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.

Times of day.--

šala'lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala'dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te'yao ču'ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču'kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču'ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu'šu ču'ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne'wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a'wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni'u'ši: evening (M.P.)
toi'yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'ːnči: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o'piu: day, light (M.L.); u'piu: day, light (M.P.)
he'če u'piu: today (M.P.)
šala'dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati'opo'do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo'do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda'o: Monday
pu'ne'uñːč: Tuesday
supe'a'ta: Wednesday
hai''obata: Thursday
yːča'o: Friday
ča'odːtpi: Saturday
no'mčːn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o'piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo'da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi'yo opo'do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u'pːs: moon (M.L.); u'pːš (J.B.)
hača'm u'pːš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

[209]Cr. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

805 hiam map:ˊnši u ˊp:šˊ: full moon (J.B.)
821 hiam katai ˊšu u ˊp:šˊ: old moon (J.B.)
u ˊp:s tawi ˊči: waning moon [lit., dying moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi ˊt:l: now dying, said of waning moon (M.P.)
192 kamu ˊtu u ˊp:šˊ: dark of moon [lit., lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u ˊp:s [or opoˊdo] kaiˊˊiyu doiˊyeˊdi (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am piˊ heˊ uˊšˊt nanuˊnwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 Stars, constellations.--

192 toiˊt:sˊ: any star (M.L.); čoˊtečˊ: any star (J.B.)

tawa n:t: morning star (M.L.); tawaˊn:l: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nip:ˊčn:m hiˊam tiˊši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyoˊd apoˊd, aˊm:d n:m).

niˊyeˊao: evening star (J.B.)

goiˊyum: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]

hodaˊotš:d: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (hoˊdodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

823 m:t iˊd:k: a large stream, such as Kaweah River
192 poˊčuč idˊ:k: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek
pa ˊˊasi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kɨd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
ƙomu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyɨd pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 Directions.---These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´ṭu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pɨn: up
a´dɨd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mɨts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wɨč; to the west, tokɨlyu´wɨč; to the south, humtɨ´nɨn.

do´mtu i´dɨkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dɨkao: downstream

805 Seasons.---Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The
821 choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 909]

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three
821 kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.
ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.);
May (J.B.)
192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.);
June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).
wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)
tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ne´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɨš), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɨč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´´u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɨš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɨt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɨšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order
[525] normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

616 825 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

It is clear that the moiety was not a 616 basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, 825 M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616 825 192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
ṭu´´ud: rattlesnake
ñahō´´ō: grizzly bear
ṭa´´ᵢšwide´ᵢt: black-and-white woodpecker
du´hun: cinnamon bear
aho´´ot: weasel
sañsañwide´´ᵢt: tree squirrel
po´´hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahō'ō got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´´iyu: coyote
a´ǰa: fox
tu´ned: wildcat
wahu´sᵢt: cougar
iwe´yᵢt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´´i: dove
so´o´no: pigeon
hᵢ´mᵢd: quail

No comment.

[P. 99b] Wukchumni

616
825
192

4. ṭu´hɨt: eagle
u´wɨk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´´ɨt: tree squirrel
aha´´ot: weasel
po´´hot: ground squirrel
he´ñhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɨp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.---The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.---Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the polsm probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

805 Calendar.---Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.---B.W. was interested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

192 821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi´ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gáshowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi´op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le´a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če´a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yaš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lal (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lak (water).

192 823 Directions were particularized as follows: ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nan homoti (to go south); to´xal (west; toward the plains): toxal tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxal pa´a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tal (directly down, also downhill); tanan atal (to go down); atal tunulao (down hillwards); ţi´pan (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ţipan wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mat (to run); witi´nat (to fall down); haswa´nit (to fall down dead or to be dead).

192 561 Life span.---The life span B.W. divided as follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi´i´lat (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswa´nat (dead person).

764 Burial.---When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Bunnell, 122.

[P. 159 b] Dumna

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi, everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his father. The government wanted to make schools. Each morning two white men and [native] interpreters told them what was going to take place. Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings River to see the Indians there, but he got killed. The Indians called him Ca'wis. The government sent no money at this time. But this was the beginning of all bad things -- sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
● [192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

621 192 773 Star lore.---Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pi·š: sun
toiyu´ nam u´pi·š: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´ ni·š: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawači·t: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´či·n čano´´oni·t: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.---The year was divided into moon months (ye·t u´pi·š, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mči·n, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´li·pi, six).

823 Earthquake.---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 Snake-charm.---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 386 822 192 Paint.---The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green (black in earlier times?), and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. ṭe´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn, etc.
11. yɛ´čam	
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 213 c] Western Mono NS25

Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[355] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[355] Ibid., 588.

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291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.---The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.---The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been
237 rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bi, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´bi, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

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292 The skirt was made by either men or women,
462 but the headdress was made only by men. An old man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´´o was particu-
435 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.---Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done
301 with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
304 ed point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

W Tattooing.---There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
W S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.---Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o č:k (red), toiye´´i očk (white), and mutakei´w:k očk (black, i.e., charcoal) [all

teams Michahai.]

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[252]

lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.---B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo'ti, antelope, e'bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu'ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo'ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u'nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu'bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu'huza'giti tuhu'bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša'buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka'wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a'otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru'nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu'ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta'bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te'a'wa: cottontail rabbit

to'hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi'jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho''ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko'no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a'čkat: mole; no one ate

ga'wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·'pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·'buk: beaver

naha''ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa': eagle; chief's totem

kini': duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša'ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik'digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wihutzai'ya: buzzard; no one ate

we'ja: condor; no one ate

hutu''du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa''ara: crow

ka'papuč: raven

ča'k: blackbird

či"au'wi: another kind of blackbird

o'čo'bč: magpie

hai'hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai'go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·'pna: flicker; old people ate

hara'ki: old people ate

'pana'tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro'ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·'čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

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●192
136

čuču'ai: bluebird; too small to eat
činiša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tumna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču'ina: Oregon junco
mučiwuoina: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti'tš: Audubon warbler?
so'owi: pigeon; everyone ate
homona: valley quail; everyone ate
či'pːt: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi'oi''ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
saŋa'ŋapa: kingfisher
šo'šo': little green heron
wa'kːts: blue crane
ko'dːto: sand-hill crane
ka'hi: grouse
kura'vi: duck (kind?)
la'la: geese
huihui'mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai'ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü·'yːm: fly
čokoi''ica: wasp
pe·'na: yellow jacket
hu'biwa: bumble bee
naraposta'pe'na: hornet
ta'beko'ot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu'ñːp: tarantula
mu'ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu'lu: brown lizard
kumče'ča: black lizard
wasu'i: a large "brush" lizard
musi'gi: rattlesnake
paso'go: water snake
kolo'lki: King snake
o·'koko: bullfrog
kuai'aki: a small frog
a·natza'na: water dog
ta'lːm: speckled trout
e'bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po'lhoi: sucker
aiya'go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai'hːt: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta'kːts: minnows
a'ñya: turtle

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Trees and shrubs:
pohue'dopᵃ: valley oak
ya'kapᵃ: post oak
wi''upᵃ: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša'ba: live oak
tikai'ya: acorns of all oak species
a'psoabᵃ: manzanita
to'nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no'jibᵗ: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso'poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo'haba: "Jack" pine
pane'wanːp: sugar pine
pone'diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu·'bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o' pa'dra: yucca ("cactus")
o' b': yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b'p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't'p: slippery elm
napa' 'ap': alder
soho'p': cottonwood
tanapo'nip': ash
pa'sitap: willow
s'hu'b': small willow
se' nowiyap: elderberry bush

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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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[415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li ´h ´·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti ´´i ´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.---1. o ´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a ´mat (Michahai), kača ´o (Wukchumni), a ´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi ´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a ´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo ´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai ´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.---6. po· ´no (Michahai), tapono ´ci (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka ´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti ´´i (Michahai).

W Y [402] 7. a ´naš (Michahai), wo· ´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to ´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča ´phai (Michahai), ta ´myuk (Wukchumni), ta ´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

[P.229a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´č:t, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukeč:t), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šil:´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. y:t	15. y:´čum
2. pu´noi	16. čo´lpum
3. so´p:n	17. no´mčum
4. hatpa´na	18. mu´nčum
5. yit:´šn:l	19. no´npom
6. ču´lipi	20. punoi´tsi'ao
7. no´mč:n	21. punoi tsi'ao y:t
8. mo´noš	22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
9. no´n:p	23. punoi tsi'ao sop:n, etc.
10. tsi'a´o	
11. y:´čam	30. sop:n tsi'ao, etc.
12. po´ctom	100. y:t pi´ča
13. co´yum	1000. tsi'ao pič a
14. ha´čpan	

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.---This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kow:t, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192

The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwa´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi´a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi´an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782

The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nač) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´´eša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821

The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ´niša´n nan wan upuš na:m (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan:č or site´lši tawan:č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773]

The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

W [EP, 2296] Western Mono NS25
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An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu ´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

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221

The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

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821
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B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´so´s: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

Y
W
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Directions:
pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

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peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W
Y
805
192

Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y
[184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W
Y
773
821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W
Y
825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puši·l·n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W
Y
773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

W
Y
622

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Tokuts NS29
[P.236a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 838 [767]

The Transvestite

The male transvestite (tono č·m, Michahai; tai ´yap, Wakshachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

W Y [787] 767

The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties.

W Y [773]

A male tonoč·m figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W Y [767]

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

W Y 561 ● 192

Wakshachi Age Categories (B.O.)

na´na hua čiči: newborn boy
hu´´pi hua čiči: newborn girl
na´načı: boy about two years old
si´i´sačı: girl about two years old
hua´wuha na načı (or si´isačı): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na´nop na´načı: boy five to ten years old
hu´u´ni´mo´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa´bi na´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 2366] Western Mono NS25

W Y 561 192

moa ʾbi huʾu ʾpi na ʾnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ʾbi ti ʾkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
huʾu ʾpi ʾtu ʾsmoge: young woman having borne children
moa ʾbi na ʾnanyːp: man forty to sixty years old
moa ʾbi nana ʾpiʾːp: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ʾbi moa ʾbhːlːp: old man
moa ʾbi hube ʾčiʾːp: old woman

Death

W Y 763 When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night.

W Y 764 Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (luʾkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ʾči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation---The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769] S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192] In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ʾlšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ʾlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai taoʾi ʾči (person dead); pučo ʾn taoʾi ʾči (man dead); muṭi ʾhoi taoʾi ʾči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767 Burial---According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ʾnoluč (taxa ʾtaa ʾšonaluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132]

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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

Do you see me!
See me, Tilishiut!
See me, Pumashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echegut!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Uksit!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people.

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

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With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing.

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

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There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions.

756
825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The following incident will probably impress upon the reader something of the immensity of the growth along these rivers. In the search for cottonwood timber to make the ox-carts already mentioned, a tree was cut which surpassed in size anything of its kind I have ever seen along San Joaquin streams. The tree was a cottonwood, more than five feet in diameter, and measured, as it lay upon the ground after being felled, 115 feet in height. The trunk of the tree was perfectly straight and free of all branches for twenty-four feet. 137

This is certainly remarkable for cottonwood growth, but I have been assured that many of the oak trees which were cut for rails and log houses during the '50's and '60's measured eight feet in diameter and were straight as an arrow for more than thirty feet. Some of these trees undoubtedly stood more than 170 feet in height.

Believing the Indian names for the various San Joaquin Valley landmarks and natural attractions will be of interest in connection with the sketches in which they are mentioned, an effort is being made to insert them in their proper places. As the names varied somewhat from tribe to tribe they are all taken from the Wukchumne tribe, which once occupied the little valley of Lemon Cove. 192

Following is a list of the Indian names involved in this sketch. They were thought to be too bulky for inclusion in the text of the article.

Ash—*Wah'-shick*
Basketry grass—*Chaw'-kish*
Basketry root—*Hoo'-pud*
Blackberry—*Mah'-mid*
Cottonwood tree—*Dah'-pah*
Grape—*In'-suh Naw'-tip*
Hemp—*Shock'h*
Nettles—*Tro'we*
Oak tree—*Trah'-tah*
Tule—*Suey'-yow*
Willow, black—*Shah'-dum*
Willow, button—*Ki'-one*
Willow, common—*Shock'-otch*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill.* It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we.* It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila.* However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit,* Wukchumne, *Kaweah, Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne, Chunut, Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip.* The Wukchumne call this *chadip.* They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik,* name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

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224 551 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

● 192 Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

197 The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it is safe to substitute an "l" whenever a "d" appears in the following Wukchumne words.

The San Joaquin Valley was called *Chaw-daw'-no*. The Wukchumnes recognized the great central valley as a geographical unit and spoke of various valley landmarks as being "*Wah kayo Chaw-daw'-no* (Away down the valley)". Tulare Lake was known as *Pi-ah'-se*. Some tribes are said to have simply called the lake *Mi'-ak Ill'-ik*, or Big Water.

Along the Kaweah River all of the prominent landmarks were named. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shin*. Yucca Point was called *Kah'-wid*. Yokohl Creek bore the name of *Yo-kod'-o*.

The great granite bluff on the Sierra skyline known to us as Homer's Nose was called *Top-aw'-shuh*, or leaning place. Sawtooth Peak was *Kah-did'-it*. A more complete list of Wukchumne place names is given elsewhere in this volume.

The following list of names will give some idea of the extent of the Yokuts vocabulary and of their close contact with every feature of the landscape, as well as with the native plants, birds, and animals.

Blue jay	*Trah-ush'-nah*
Black bird	*Chouk*
Buckeye	*Top'-pong*
Blackberry	*Mah'-min*
Breakfast	*Wah-ah'-dua*
Badger	*Tuh'-now*
Bee	*Hi'-neh*
Bumble Bee	*So-way-way'-heh*
Bear	*Mo-ho'-o*
Coyote	*Ki'-yu*
Cottonwood	*Dah'-pah*
Crow	*Ah-duh'-wut*
Chamese	*Co'-toon*
Cherry	*Shup*
Chipmunk	*Che'-we'-yeh*
Chaparral	*Tah-dow'-ud*
Cottontail	*Tay'-yoo*
Cedar tree	*Chow-uh'-puk*
Cat-tail	*Tro'-wuh*
Castle Rock	*Lung-no'-tim*
Cone, pine	*Chung-o'-kish*
Duck	*Hi-eh'-neh*

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192 Deer	*Hoey*
Dust	*Poo-troy'-tuh*
Doctor	*Trok-oh'-din chi'-yeh*
Dinner	*Duh-yohn'-mi*
Eagle Ridge Point	*Oo'-toy yah'-shid*
Eagle	*Tro'-khud*
Earthquake	*Woke-ed'-pahn*
Fly	*Pah-new'-ski*
Goose	*Cu'-su*
Gopher	*Oon'-cut*
Gooseberry	*Show-ship'-in*
Gravel	*Pun-in'-huck yah'-kow*
Hill (by Lemon Cove Depot)	*Ti-up'-in'-ish*
Horned Toad	*Toe'-tuht che'-uh*
Hornet	*Choe'-chup*
Hospital Rock	*Pah'-din*
Hawk	*Shaw'-shuck*
Ice	*Pu'-yung*
Lizard	*Con-cha'-chuh*
Lion	*We-hay'-sit*
Mortar	*Coi'-wus*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow*
Mocking bird	*Vop-sin'-its*
Meadow lark	*Jah-kod'-uh*
Magpie	*Aw'-chutch*
Mosquito	*Kaw'-scrope*
Mud	*Tuh-puk'-ud*
Mohogany	*Home'-nuh*
Maple	*Wah'-shick*
Moon	*Oop'-esh*
Oak tree (valley)	*Trah'-tah*
Oak (black)	*O-uh'-shun*
Oak (maul)	*Truh'-kah*
Oak (blue)	*Sue'-tut*
Oriole	*Taw-taw'-ish*
Pestle	*Pahd'-uh-way*
Pine tree	*Id'-gnid*
Quail	*Ho'-mud*
Rock	*Yah'-kow*
Slick Rock	*Pod'-now*
Jack rabbit	*To'-pul*
Road runner	*Oi'-oi*

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Rat	*Tu'-mau te'-much*
Rattles (from snake)	*Hang-ah'-sid*
Rattlesnake	*Trah'-ud*
Raccoon	*Ket'-chuh*
Shell (periwinkle)	*Chah'-wik*
Shell (abalone)	*To'-trud*
Shell (Pismo clam)	*Hu'-mana*
Shell (soft mussel)	*Che-u'-nim*
Cave	*Dop'kaw*
Sunflower	*Wah'-suh-wi*
Sagebrush	*Show'-vom*
Thank you	*Wook'-nud een'-sheesh*
Tule	*Suey'-you*
Turtle	*Sah-wah'-kits*
Terminis Beach	*Coach-nah'-mew*
Tarantula	*Law-la'-nuh*
Trout	*Pah'-chick in-tahd'-im*
Trout (Kern River)	*Pas'-nit in-tahd'-im*
Venice Hills	*Kaweah*
Venice Hills Indian Village	*Kaweah*
Water (singing)	*Tum-mu'-dah idik*
Water (still)	*Yung-mu'-dah idik*
Water (shallow)	*Ah'-tah idik*
Water (deep)	*Wah'-ah idik*
Water (shining)	*Wah'-ah muh'-tah idik*
Waterfall	*Wo-ho'-dah*
Whirlpool	*Wool-l-l-wah'-dah idik*
Willow (button)	*Shook'-hotch*
Willow (common)	*Sha'-katch*
Willow (black)	*Shah'-dahm*
Woodpecker	*Pah-dah'-dut*
Weasel	*Po-haw'-ut*
Wild cat	*Tong'-ud*
Worm (measuring)	*Haw'-nick haw'-nick*
Worm (glowing)	*Chaw'-eh chaw'-eh*
Whirlwind	*Moy'-yuk*
Wind	*Te-duh'-shuh*
Weed (tumble)	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yellow hammer	*Tro-peese'-nuh*
Yellow jacket	*Traw'-coy e'-seh*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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NUMERALS:

1. *Yaet*
2. *Pu-noy*
3. *So-uh-pin*
4. *Hop-pu-noy*
5. *Yach-e-nil*
6. *Chu-luh-pe*
7. *Num-chen*
8. *Mu-nosh*
9. *Nah-nip*
10. *Treo*
11. *Treo-yaet*
12. *Treo pu-noy*
13. *Treo so-uh-pin*
20. *Pu-noy treo*
21. *Pu-noy treo yaet*
22. *Pu-noy treo pu-noy*
23. *Pu-noy treo so-uh-pin*
30. *So-uh-pin treo*
31. *So-uh-pin treo yaet*
33. *So-uh-pin treo so-uh-pin*
50. *Yach-e-nil treo*
100. *Treo-treo,* [or ten tens]

192 The above list represents approximately one-twenty-fifth of the Wukchumne words collected by the writer, which in turn represent half of the complete vocabulary of the Wukchumne. They present only the common names which have not already been presented elsewhere in the text and serve to indicate how complete was the Yokuts vocabulary.

YOKUTS WILD FLOWER AND PLANT NAMES

824 One of the most amazing things concerning Indians is their extensive knowledge concerning their environment. This includes not only a knowledge of the geography of the country in which they live and the use to which the many things about them can be put, but also a vast fund of cultural information which to many persons of the white race seems useless.

The average Indian possessed a remarkable store of information about the varieties and species of plants and flowers with which he was surrounded at the different seasons of the year. The writer knows several educated Americans who have studied for years the wild flowers and plants of California, but

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

824 identify it among all other plants. If it was poisonous they 11 knew that, and were careful not to mix it with other plants being gathered. This knowledge extended to the birds, animals and even to the surrounding rocks. This meant that for each thing identified the mother and daughter knew approximately ten related facts. The number of facts furnished to this noted scientist numbered many thousand. Of added interest is the fact that the data furnished by the daughter checked accurately with that furnished by the mother, a record never attained by white school teachers in formal education. What educated person belonging to the "superior" white race has an equal store of information about his immediate surroundings?

192 824 In the belief that the names of the various wild flowers and plants common in the San Joaquin valley will be of interest to readers, the following list is appended:

Amaranth, California	*Choi-ni choi-ni*
Brodiaea, Purple Harvest	*Ho-lo'-wih*
Brodiaea, twining	*Kang-wah wid-dah*
Baby Blue Eyes	*Ah-du'-trun shesh-eh*
Bush, Button	*Cu'-chuy*
Brickellia	*Kaw-wats-ah'-puh*
Bush, Silk Tassel	*Shin-way*
Bamboo or cane	*Kod-kid*
Columbine	*Dum-tin'-un in-dip'-its*
Calycanthus occidentalis	*You-mut*
Daisy, Yellow	*Chaw-wung*
Ericameria	*Chaw-dud'-pot*
Fern, Great Chain	*Mun-no'-kits*
Fern, Maiden Hair	*Le-wit'-tah*
Flax, blue	*Kah-wah*
Fern, California Golden	*Yaw-kow'-ho*
Houses, Chinese	*Tawk-haw'-daw*
Honey Suckle, wild	*Ti-you la-ou*
Harebell-Satinbell	*Tah-pu'-you*
Lotus, Hill	*Shah-dum'-its*
Lily, Leopard	*Yah-am'-yuh*
Mustard	*Tro-mud*
Mistle Toe	*Taw-do*
Milkweed	*Chet-tik*
Milkweed, woolly	*Che-tik*
Milkweed, narrow leaf	*Shock*
Monkey flower	*Chow-ahcu'-dah*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum*
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus*
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death.

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was the practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 192 Buckeye.....*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.

Blackberry.....*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.

Brodiaea, Golden.....*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.

Brodiaea, Minor.....*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.

Clover, sweet.....*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.

Cherry, bitter.....*Shup.*

Fern, Common.....*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.

Fern, Brittle.....Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Fungus, Indian Paint	*Prah'-tah In-o'-poke.*
Fungus, Large mushroom shaped	*Caw-ho'-mik.* Dried and then stewed.
Grass, dry powdered salt	*Al'-leet,* or *Ah'-dit.* Eaten as a seasoning and as candy.
Gooseberry, prickly	*Shaw'-ship in-wah'-yeh.*
Gooseberry, red	*Tong'-e*
Grape, wild	*In'-suh naw'-tip*
Lettuce, wild (Miner's Lettuce)	*Haw'-dum.* Eaten raw with salt.
Lichen, stag horn	*Puh-tri'-chuh*
Lucidum, Ganodenna	*Shok-nud'-uh.*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow.* Used for sweet wine.
Milkweed, tall	*Hung'-uts hung'-uts.* Used for chewing gum.
Nightshade, purple	*Paw-mo'-i-ush.*
Onion, wild	*Sung'-co.* Eaten raw.
Rush, scouring	*Suk'-kaw sick-id'-it*
Strawberry, wild	*Dum-tin'-in mah'-min.* Eaten raw.
Salvia Columbarial	*Kaw'-wah.*
Tobacco, Indian	*Sahw'-kaw.* Smoked and eaten.
Tree, Alder fruit	*Hi-eh'-nen.* Eaten raw, or dried.
Yucca	*Kah'-wid.* Tender shoot baked or roasted.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds a few details which are related below:

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

128 Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The original data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks. [192]

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds.

104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	ĕ: as in English about
i: as in English pique	ĭ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	te: as in English change
o: as in English note	ţ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	': glottal stop
ai: as in English thy	

Other letters have sounds as in English.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
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7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 one old man who was able to give me, through a Spanish interpreter, his numerals, but nothing more. Following are the ten numerals:

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One.	kil'-leh.	Six.	tukh'-tu.
Two.	cho-yo'-chi.	Seven.	po-ko'-i-chin-tin'-li.
Three.	u-yat'-ai.	Eight.	pus'-in-tin'-li.
Four.	chu'-i-chau.	Nine.	hōs'-che.
Five.	loap'-chin-tin'-li.	Ten.	chi'-wa.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost endless variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families of California, especially those in the large Central morphological group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 177 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in *197 193 551 768 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead. This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 193 192 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly unchanged from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Palenyami this is replaced by k'enen, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ăns or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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The usual Yokuts term for smoke is mod-ak. In most Northern dialects this disappears to be replaced by a stem tsehan, which reappears in Yaudanchi as tcehen with the meaning of fog. The same stem, tcehen, replaces the usual word for cloud, k'ädai or k'ilei, in Wükchamni, Aitichа, and Choinok, while in Tachi the stem ceel, which usually has the meaning of rain, appears for cloud. In place of this stem ceel, which is the customary one in the Valley dialects for rain, xotoo is characteristic of the Foothill dialects. But in certain special Foot-hill and Valley dialects, such as Tulamni, Gashowu, Tachi, Chunut, and Nutunutu, a stem gono, meaning fall, appears.

The usual stem for medicine-man is ant-u. The Northern dialects show a stem teic, which is the radical having in Yaudanchi, and apparently in most other dialects, the meaning of make. The medicine-man is he who makes.

In Paleuyami the usual Yokuts words for head and hair, ot-o and dool, are replaced by a form t-uk, which is nothing but the Foot-hill and Northern stem teuk, meaning in these dialects brain.

Such instances could be indefinitely multiplied, and were the Yokuts languages known more thoroughly an even greater number of radical diversities could no doubt be explained in this manner than is now the case. At the same time there is evidently a large element of diverse stems whose origin cannot be explained in this way. Such stems may also once have taken their rise through dialectic shifting of meaning, but the process and the fact can no longer be traced or determined.

To illustrate the degree of uniformity and diversity of the stems in the several dialectic groups of Yokuts, a comparative vocabulary of a few selected terms is here given. The fuller vocabularies from which this table is drawn will be presented in a future publication dealing specifically with the tribal divisions and dialects of the family.

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	Four	Nine	Woman	Nose	Tongue	Blood	Lupu	Fire
Tulamni	tapaši	wuteat	muk'ec	t-ŭñak	alkdas	bĕpa	cuvĕiyan	mit
Khometroli	tapaši	wutcat	muk'ec	t-ŭñak	alkdis	bĕp	cuvĕiyn	mit
Paleuyumi	hetpeši	lik'iyi	xatacu	t-eñik	talĕpis	hiba	cuvĕiyin	mit
Yaudanchi	hatpaši	nĕnip	muk'ec	t-ŭñŭk	tadmat-	bĕpa	poupon	mit
Wükchamni	hatpaši	nĕnip	muk'ec	t-ŭñŭk	tadmat-	bĕpa	potpon	mit
Chukaimina	hatpami	nĕnip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	takrit-	bĕpa	poupin	mit
Michahai	hatpami	nĕnip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	mudat-	bĕpa	poupin	mit
Aitichu	hatpami	nĕnip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	takrit-	bĕpa	poupin	mit
Choinimni	hatpami	nĕnip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	mudat-	bĕpa	poupon	mit
Gashowu	hatpami	nĕnip	guyolum	t-inik	takrit-	bĕpa	ĕni	celt
Chukchansi	hatpami	nĕnip	muk'ĕla	sinik	takma	pĕyax	ĕni	celt
Kechayi	hatpami	nĕnip	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takrit-	pĕyax	bĕyan	celt
Dumna	hatpami	nĕnip	muk'ĕla	t-inik	talkat-	pĕyax	poupon	celt
Chauchila	hotopomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	bĕyan	celt
Wechikhit	hotpomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	camic	celt
Natunutu	hotpomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	bĕyan	celt
Tachi	hotpomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	poupon	celt
Chunut	hotpomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	poupon	celt
Wo'lasi	hotpomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	poupon	celt
Choinok	hotpomi	soponhot	muk'ĕla	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	poupon	celt
Yauelmani	hotpomi	soponhot	gĕina	t-inik	takat-	pĕyax	poupon	celt

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Of about two hundred and twenty-five common words on which there is sufficient material for comparisons in the vocabularies obtained, one hundred and fifty, or fully two-thirds, show two or more distinct radicals in the totality of dialects. Of the remainder, forty-three, or barely a fifth, go back to the same radical in all six dialectic groups. In the case of about thirty words only one stem appears in the dialectic groups from which there is material, but information is lacking in regard to one or two groups. As these are usually the specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, in which divergent radicals most frequently appear, a certain part of these thirty words would no doubt have to be added, were the information complete, to the one hundred and fifty showing two or more stems. In any case it is clear that at least two-thirds of the most common linguistic ideas, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals, and excluding only personal and demonstrative pronouns, are expressed by diverse stems in one or more of the six structurally so closely united dialectic groups of Yokuts.

The respective proportion of words showing uniform and diverse stems is very different in the several classes of words. The figures are given in the accompanying table. It will be seen that the numerals are conspicuously uniform. Only the word for nine differs; but for this there are four distinct stems. Of next greatest uniformity are adverbial and interrogative pronominal stems. The proportion of uniform stems does not vary very much in the different classes of nouns and verbs, being twenty-seven per cent for verbs; thirty-two per cent, the highest proportion, for parts of the body; twenty-nine per cent for the names of a few of the more important artificial objects; twenty-four per cent for natural objects, including the cardinal directions and names of plants; and twenty-two per cent for mammals. Words denoting birds and animals other than mammals, indeed apparently show a very high frequency of uniform stems, amounting to about one-half, but this circumstance is due to two factors; first the accident of an unusually large number of gaps among these words in the vocabularies from the more specialized dialects; and second the greater predominance in this class than in others of onomatopoetic terms. It is notable that the proportion of

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words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing.

	Identical Items in all groups	Identical Items in all so far as known	Different Stems	Percentage of total formed by identical stems
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	21	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	29	24
Mammals	3	3	16	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	49
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the complex nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical.

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woman's breast, bone, tears, sweat-house, boat, road, north, south, night, fire, water, panther, skunk, condor, goose, fish, louse, far, who, what, where, drink, give, and laugh. The following are radically alike in all the dialectic groups from which there is information, but may show different stems in those groups which are not represented in these words in the vocabularies: Lips, navel, ankle, faeces, urine, sinew, arrow-point, hail, star, leaf, tobacco, plains oak, manzanita, polecat, otter, beaver, bald eagle, magpie, blackbird, bluejay, mountain quail, pigeon, woodpecker, yellowhammer, road-runner, crane, kingsnake, lake trout, spider, up, and stand. As stated, most of the names of birds are onomatopoetic. The words which show radically different stems in one or more of the dialectic groups are too numerous to be listed, but include nine, person, man, woman, child, old man, old woman, father, mother, chief, friend, head, hair, tongue, neck, hand, fingernail, belly, back, foot, heart, blood, liver, brain, skin, house, bow, arrow, pipe, meat, name, west, sun, moon, day, cloud, rain, snow, smoke, ash, ice, earth, world, stream, mountain, rock, salt, wood, willow, tule, dog, bear, coyote, wolf, fox, wildcat, deer, elk, antelope, hare, rabbit, ground-squirrel, gopher, raccoon, badger, bird, eagle, buzzard, horned owl, raven, crow, humming-bird, quail, lizard, frog, fly, worm, white, black, red, large, small, good, bad, all, much, down, to-morrow, yesterday, no, eat, run, dance, sing, sleep, talk, see, kill, sit, lie, walk, and cry.

To determine the relative degrees of affinity or specialization of the several dialectic groups, computations have been made of the number of stems they respectively have and have not in common with other groups. The Kings River group of the Foot-hill division shows similarities to the Valley division, and was therefore compared with both the groups of this division as well as with the nearest group, the Tule-Kaweah, of the Foot-hill division. Excluding on the one hand words possessing identical stems in the four groups, and on the other hand words showing stems peculiar to the Kings River group, the Kings River group agrees with the Tule-Kaweah group fifty-four times and differs from it thirty-three times; and agrees with the Northern and the principal Valley groups respectively thirty-five and thirty-three times and differs from them fifty-two and forty-eight times. The

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proportion of words of the Kings River group going back to the same stem as the corresponding words in the Tule-Kaweah group is thus about sixty per cent., whereas the proportion between Kings River and the two Valley groups is only forty per cent. While the Kings River group makes the nearest approach within the Foot-hill division to the Valley division, it thus clearly belongs with the Tule-Kaweah group to the former.

Within the Kings River group the Gashowu, spoken on Dry creek, between Kings river and the San Joaquin, shows the most specialization, and many of its differentiations are in the direction of the forms found in the Northern group, which is on the San Joaquin. A computation, however, shows forty-six stems agreeing with Kings River forms and differing from Northern forms, and only twenty of opposite affinity. While Gashowu therefore has something of a transitional character, and must be regarded as the one of all the Foot-hill dialects approaching most nearly to the Valley division, it yet belongs distinctively to the Kings River group.

Chauchila, which, as the only plains dialect in the Northern group from which there is material, may be taken as representative of these, differs in a number of cases from the foot-hill dialects in this group, and in these cases almost always agrees with the forms of the main Valley group. The proportion of its agreements and disagreements with these two groups—the main Valley and the Northern as typified by the dialects spoken in the foot-hills—is nearly equal, but somewhat in favor of the Northern group by about nineteen cases to fifteen. The sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the plains, to which besides Chauchila the isolated Chulamni of the region about Stockton is known to have belonged, as well as probably Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, and Wakichi, thus formed a true transition between the principal Valley group and the sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the foot-hills: Chukchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna. Of course all these groups and sub-groups, the principal Valley, the Northern of the plains, and the Northern of the hills, belong to the Valley division.

The Northern group, including both its plains and foot-hill sub-groups, shows the following result on comparison with the other five groups of the family:

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Northern Group.

Group	Identical stems	Different stems	Percentage of identical stems
Buena Vista	16	55	23
Poso Creek	24	47	34
Tule-Kaweah	35	38	38
Kings River	54	37	59
Valley	61	27	69

In addition there are thirty-six words in which the majority of the Northern dialects show stems peculiar to themselves. It is evident from this table that the Northern group forms part of the Valley division, that within the Foot-hill division its nearest relative is the Kings River group, to which it is contiguous; and that the Buena Vista Lake group is apparently the most specialized of all Yokuts groups.

Finally a computation was made as to the respective degrees of specialization of Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake, the most modified groups, and their relationship to other groups. Paleuyami, representing the Poso Creek group, showed thirty-eight words radically distinct from the corresponding words of other dialects, or, if words are excluded which were not represented in all groups, thirty-two. The two dialects representing the Buena Vista Lake group showed sixty-seven words of radical distinctness, or, omitting the words not fully represented in all dialects, fifty-five. The relation of these two groups to the other groups of the family is shown by the following table. In this table the thirty-two to thirty-nine and fifty-five to sixty-seven stems peculiar respectively to the two groups in question, have been included in the series of figures expressing the number of words found showing stems different from those of the other dialects.

	Buena Vista			*Poso*		
	Stems in Common	*Stems Different*	*Percentage in Common*	*Stems in Common*	*Stems Different*	*Percentage in Common*
Buena Vista				29	71	29
Poso	29	71	29			
Tule-Kaweah	36	83	30	54	55	50
Kings	24	93	21	43	67	39
Valley	18	95	15	38	60	37
Northern	13	105	10	29	78	27

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sound goes back to the period when these three groups, and perhaps all the groups of Yokuts, were not yet fully differentiated. As the three southern Foot-hill groups are now so much specialized, they cannot have been separated very recently. It is therefore clear, first that ñ is almost certainly a sound of some antiquity in the dialects in which it occurs, and second that it may have been an original general Yokuts characteristic which has been lost in those three of the Yokuts groups that now contain the greater number of dialects.

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Other than these three dialectic equivalences there are none in Yokuts that are general enough to be of much comparative significance in our present knowledge of the language. In a few words l and y correspond interdialectally. Usually the Valley group shows y.

[192]

English	*Foot*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
where	heli-	hel	hido-	hilo-	hilo-	hiyo-
tooth	tilo	teli	todi	teli	teli	toyi
white			toodod	teoyoyi	(djolol)	djolol
tule	hololis				kayis	
bunched					Chunut:	got-ola
					Yaudmani:	kot-oya
low			dayap	dalip		t-alap

There is some irregular accordance between t, t·, and tc. Some of the principal instances are shown in the following table. It will be seen that the Valley dialects show most tendency to palatalize t sounds formed at the teeth in other dialects. While t and t· sound much alike to the untrained Indo-European ear, they are quite distinct to the Yokuts, and it seems strange that these equivalences between them should exist. It is however significant that these equivalences of t, t·, and tc are on the one hand infrequent and on the other hand not always in the same direction, although in the case of any one word all the dialects of one group are usually a unit in regard to the sound they show.

[192]

English	*Foot*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
one	yit	yit	yut	yoto	yut	yut, yoto
belly	t-ot	toote	t-ot-			tot-
bow			dayap	dalip[1]		t-alap
earth				xotol	xotsoi	xot-ol
sweat			dambun	t-amun	tcumuk	t-opox
rabbit	tis		tis	tos	tes	tcis

[1] Some dialects: d-alip.

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*197 194 Several instances of equivalences of t, t·, and ts between Yaudanchi and Yauelmani have been given in the discussion of the phonetics of the latter dialect.

There are some correspondences between s and t·. In most words there are only one or two dialects which sporadically show one of these sounds in place of the other.

●[192] Mouth: eama; Gashowu, t-ama.

Eye: caca; Gashowu, Choinok, t-at-a.

Nose: t·inik; Chukehansi, sinik.

Beard: Southern Foot-hill, d-amoe, djamoe; Kings River group and Valley division, damut·.

Testicles: Tule-Kaweah, hoñoe; Valley, honot·, honoe.

Badger: t-aniu, t-anau; Choinimni, sanau.

Fish: lopit·; Chukehansi, lopis.

In a few cases x and k correspond. The usual form for finger-nail, xecix, becomes kecik in the Tule-Kaweah group. Horn, usually koyee, is xoyee in Gashowu and Dumna. In the Valley division the demonstrative stems indicating proximity are hi and ki, in the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division ke, and in the three southern Foot-hill groups xi, or xe and xi.

As has been said in the discussion of Yaudanchi, it is not quite clear whether s and c are two distinct sounds in Yokuts or only one. If distinct, the two are certainly much alike. There is some individual variation. Women especially are apt to pronounce s and ts much more sharply and clearly than men, from whom c and tc are more frequently heard. There is probably also some slight dialectic difference in this respect, as in certain Valley dialects, such as Yauelmani, s and ts are almost always heard.

While, as has been shown, radical differences between dialects are much more conspicuous in Yokuts than phonetic ones; and while regular phonetic mutations between dialects are but slightly developed; there yet are, as might be expected, many stems that, in an apparently irregular fashion, assume more or less different forms in the six groups and even in individual dialects. Only, these differences are neither very striking nor of such nature or degree as to have any appreciable significance in the present state of the study of the language. The kind and

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate.

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiteu, bèmanduts, bèmamteui, bèmax, *gămax*. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable.

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit-iu; Poso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat-; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat-; Poso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat-.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, olok'; Chuchowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teoga, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hoga; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Poso, kelyi; Buena Vista, *gŭläyi*; Kings kilet-; kelit-; Choinok, helawat; Northern, hedjil; Chuchowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns,

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elementary parts and the possibility of their free combination so characteristic of many American languages, is entirely wanting. 197*

The following are the principal derivational suffixes apparent in the comparative vocabularies. 193

-ate, -ite, diminutive; Yaudanchi *-hate*, apparently a plural of adjectives when used substantively. 197*

akd-ate, child in Michahai, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Dumna, from azid, daughter, child. 193 192

got-ete, small in Northern dialects, from got-i, large.

meta-ots, small in Buena Vista, from stem met-, large.

gu-ite, beads in Wükchamni.

-ic, -uc:

Tail: Foot-hill, gut; Valley, gut'-uc.

Liver: dip; Kings River, dalap-ic.

Arrow: t'uy-oc; t'ui, shoot.

Woman: Valley, muk'-èla; Foot-hill, muk'-oc.

Tongue: talxat-; Poso and Buena Vista, talap-is, alad-is.

Thigh: k'oh-ic, k'ow-i, gow-i.

Sun, moon: Valley, o'p; Kings and Tule-Kaweah, up-ic, up-uc.

Wood: hit'-oc; hit'-el, ash.

Ash: Tule-Kaweah and Poso, hap-ac.

Sand: Tule-Kaweah and Kings, wak'-ac.

Digger-pine: ton, Tule-Kaweah, toñ-ac.

-il, -ul:

awaic-il, awate-il, chin; some dialects, awac, awadji.

teimoc-il, eyebrow; some dialects, d-imit-.

gepc-il, shoulder; some dialects, gapsi.

kuyo-c-il, knee; kuyo, ankle.

cayat-el, foot, in Paleuyami.

hacp-el, Choinok; hacpay-al, Yauelmani; has-oski, Tachi: lungs.

getañ-il, gatsiñ-il, bow, in Paleuyami and Buena Vista.

humu-ul, quail.

hit'-el, ash; hit'-oc, wood.

-ui, -tcui:

Navel: teutkuc; Buena Vista, tsutus; Yaudanchi, teudoc-ui.

Knee: upuc; Choinimni, poc-opc-ui.

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Kidney: tsiliuxai; Tachi, tsilamg-ui.

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, etc.; bèmam-te-ui, dèmam-te-ui; Tachi, ho-ho-te-ui.

Butterfly: wal-ap-te-ui, dab-â-dap-te-ui; wal-wal, butterfly, dap-dap, leaf.

-na:

Snake sp.: delita-delita-na.

Hummingbird: kum-kum-na.

Horned owl; hi-hi-na.

The most conspicuous indications of composition or derivation other than by these suffixes are found in the following words:

Four: hat-pañi, hoto-ponoi; poñoi, ponoi, two.

Five: yit-einil, yit-ienil; yit, yet, one.

Man: Buena Vista, kohote; Tule-Kaweah, kouhte-un; Kings, hute-on.

Woman: Foot-hill, muk'-ee; Valley, muk'-èla

Girl: Northern and Valley dialects, various, gai-na, woman, girl, gai-ta, girl, little girl.

Old man, old woman: mox-elo, mok-djo, mok-nite, mote-ate, mote-odo; Poso, nem-halatei, nem-a, large.

Father: no-pop; Tule-Kaweah, na-tet; no- is possibly originally the possessive pronoun of the first person; cf. mother, no-om, na-jaj.

Sweat-house: moe; Poso, mue-añ.

Pipe: baum, etc.; Poso, bam-uñ; other dialects, euk-ut, euk-mal.

Belly: balik, olok', luk'-in.

Sun, moon, day; o'p, op-odo, up-ie, op-di, ob-ol-iu.

Snow: ponpon; some Valley dialects, hayau; Poso and Buena Vista, eaway-an.

Large: Tule-Kaweah, met-; Valley, mat-ek, may-ek.

Jackrabbit: Poso, tok-coc; Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, tuk-uyun; tuk, ear.

Rabbit: tiu, telu; Poso, yem-tsun.

Flat tule: got-; Poso, gats-wol; Buena Vista, gats-iwi.

Dog: tcee-ee; Northern, tee-xa.

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be considered as a duplication of an entire stem or word-element. If however such words are not composite, then the process is to be regarded as merely a phonetic reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Such forms as pud-pud-ui and yip-yap-ut- are examples. Third, there occurs a process that has the appearance of final reduplication. This differs from the two preceding methods in that the reduplicated portion of the word seems never to contain more than one consonant, whether this be initial or final. Thus we have ine-ie and wile-li. Fourth and finally, there are a few words showing duplication or initial reduplication with a shifting of the vowel of the second of the reduplicated syllables to a position between the two duplicating syllables. Thus poe-o-pe-ui, knee, undoubtedly related to a form upue found in other dialects; and dab-ā-dap-teui, butterfly, probably related in origin to dap-dap, leaf. This form of reduplication also occurs, as has been mentioned, in connection with grammatical reduplication in the verb. It is infrequent as an etymological factor. Reduplication of the first two types, or full duplication and initial reduplication, is the most frequent, thirty-five or forty instances having been noted, mostly of the first of these two classes. Final reduplication has been found in about twenty-five words.

Duplication.

Man: nò-no, V, N.
Eye: ea-ea.
Heart: hon-hon, hoñ-hoñ.
Arrow: g'el-g'el, P.
Earthquake: yel-yal.
Cloud: p'la-p'ai, BV.
Snow: pon-pon.
Ice: gañ-geñ, P.
Ocean: hòu-ho, N.
Leaf: dap-dap.
Duck sp.: k'ui-k'ui.
Snake sp.: dèlam-dèlam.
delits-delits-na.
Butterfly: lau-lau.
wal-wal.

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Worm: k'ewaa-k'ewaa, N. 197*
wek-wik, V.
Hawk sp.: wate-wate. 193
Mallard duck: wat-wat-. 192●
Duck sp.: con-cen, P.
Duck sp.: ox-ox, BV, ox-ux-um, P.
Road-runner: ol-ul.
Goose: la'-la'.
Bluejay: t-ai-t-ai, etc.
Horned owl: him-him, etc.
Magpie: ote-ote.
Walk: tin-tin, P.

Initial Reduplication.

Lips: yip-yap-ut-, yibebit-, yebit-.
Lower leg: pud-pud-ui, bul-bul-ui.
Long beads: tca-tca-yal, BV.
Thunder: mi-mi-at-.
Stand: wo-wu-l.
Turtle: koi-koy-ot.
Bird: we-wu-tsoi, V, wi-wi-tai, P.
Horned owl: hi-hi-na, him-him.
Small owl: gu-go-tcup.
Hummingbird: kum-kum-na, K, ho-ho-teui, Tachi.
Duck sp.: ox-ux-um, P, ox-ox, BV.

Final Reduplication.

Father: no-p-op, na-t-et.
Mother: na-j-oj.
Throat: so-lo-lo, K, N.
Fingers: xal-al-nit, xal-il-it, K; xapal, V, T, BV.
Foot: dad-at- (?).
Mountain: dul-ul, dul-au; gop-up-at, BV.
Plain: wal-al, V.
Rock: nil-il, N, V, P; odox-ix, BV.
Tule sp.: kol-ol-is, P, kuy-us, koy-is, N.
White: djol-ol, teny-oi.
Good: inc-ic.
Lie: ban-an-.

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Dog: tese-se, FH.
Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: eo-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poe-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ô-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: eap-ă-eip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-ă-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are reviewed in the following table.

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ŏ, ŭ	ŏ, ŭ	e, i	ŏ, ŭ	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ac	?	-ac	-ac	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wic	-wic	-wic	-wic
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gon	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	mon	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	xi	xi	xo	ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ko	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-ak
No	a"ha"	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	obom	obom

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i:

hike	hipa, hipa
hig'a	hixa
gixa	gexa, k'exa
yit	yut
k'umi	k'amun

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	nut, nutu
nut-ka	nuk-ak
humfol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat-	lupit-
lomat	lumit
comat	comut
xotai	xotni
gato-wi	gat-

Grammatical Forms.

Pronouns:

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. mon.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xin, xon, xien; ho, xoin, go-awo; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, hin).

hun-in, what?

wut-untex, who?

Verbal forms:

hiem tayon-ai, it is (already) night.

na-an ti ma, will you eat?

hun na na-an, I will eat.

hel ma tawaca, are you thirsty?

aun na tawaca, I am not thirsty.

helin ma tanitwi, where are you going?

k'ewu-ji, xai-ai.

loih-in.

wud-oyita, hatam-in, dancer, singer.

ai-ai-wih-xin, road-runner.

ho', wiwel, tintin, sit, stand, walk!

8: Kroeber K-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Paleuyami
Tulamni
Khomehuck

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Miscellaneous:

kumui-tcin, all; wana-tcin, many.

natci-gun, my friend.

tok-mun, your ear.

citeli-hal, door.

BUENA VISTA GROUP: TULAMNI AND KHOMETWOLL.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nik
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 ex.	nak		
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 ex.			nimak
P 1 in.	mayi		
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Aman, they, is a Valley form. Yaudanchi lacks it.

Demonstratives:

xi, this, plural xi-aan; xi-te, here, xi-tem, there.

xuntu, that, plural xunte-e-an; xuntu, xunte, and xata were also given as equivalents of Yaudanchi he-in, this one's, his.

ta, that.

han-wil, what?

Forms of nouns:

nas, nas-al, eye, probably eyes, in other dialects nasa.

nuk'-al, "ear," probably ears; in other dialects tuk.

This -al is evidently the occasional Yaudanchi plural-collective suffix of inanimate nouns -hal.

Cases: locative, hulse-in, teidjuts-in, teapan-an; possessive, gut-cya-n.

Verbal forms:

lui', eat! (imperative).

luy-an, hiy-en.

luy-an, tawate-ac.

haa-l, tana-al, tawate-al, xahayaw-al, oho'-l, guno-al.

na'lac-ite, hiwut-ate.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aitícha

WUKCHAMMI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 X 193 192 ●

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-ā; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: t-i, t-on.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-ād, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wuc, hoyo-woc; cañ-cañ-wid-eitc, kux-wud-eitc.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; nu, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:
nihin-au, dui-au.

Numerals:
yete-am, eleven, poted-om, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:
tah-an, nah-an, xo-on.
tawut-a, dead.
yuwanwacn, marry.
hayu-oc, waxai-oc, tawut-oc.
laha-itc, mocassins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	nu		min
S 3			imin

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Aitcha
Choinimni
Gashowu

*197 Demonstratives:
193 ke, this, objective ki-n.
192 gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:
hoitcuc, tawat-a-c.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:
nim-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganiu, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:
[804] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:
wan-ăc, elk-ac, xahi-ac, ikă-ac, taut-a-c, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xout-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Gashowu
Kechayi
Dumna

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Demonstratives:
ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?).
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu.
ta, that.
han, what?

Numerals:
yetcam, eleven; potodom, cophiom, hatepam, yit-team, teol-pom, nomtcom, muntcom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen.

[802]

Verbs:
tah-an.
wan-asc, wan-ci; ika-ac, eka-ci; hatam-ic, xahi-ac, hoito-ic, tauta-c, xoo-oc, k'anuw-ac, heut-ic, waxal-ic, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ôn-oc (luk'in).
daw'hali-xn.
haya-wic-ac, teaplu-wic.
kam-ini, tcic-ini.
xo-mi, wowul-uu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mân		

Demonstratives:
hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
kin, what?

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Dumna
Toltichi

Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ăa; ut'u, tree, ut'ô-a, timber. These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other dialects that are grammatically known. Nônei, plural of nôno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

outeon-au, (in the) brush.

ak'd-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ete, small, apparently from got-l, large.

Numerals:

yetcan, eleven, potedom, twelve; copiom, hate'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'team, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihimga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyte-a-xon.

teapli-wie, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacav-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical. First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

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Toltichi
DUMNA

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*197 If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

*197 193 ● 192 The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

[802]

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nka	yut
2	hio	punui
3	mayo	nhopin
4	ámin	hatepanui
5	hio	yitocinil
6	otol	to'olipl
7	mahato	nomto'in
8	to'ólomak	mon'os
9	wá'dito	nhoip
10	wadi'to	to'lon
person	wuhato	yokoto
man	wo'wli	nhnoi
woman	mak'hwa	mak'hla
child	k'ow-ito	ak'á-ato
ear	nuk'	tuk
eye	xuxa	mun
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xuma	cama
hand	p'udox	b'onoo
foot	to'wax'	dial-ato
back	hainow'	gadui, ostox

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

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Toltichi
Dumna
Chukchansi

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English	Toltichi	Dumna
house	chuw, shuw	shuio
snow	k'limin	k'luiw
berries sp.	wuxuto	tuxiti
sun	xupin (hot)	xupil, sp
fire	ocit, -uxit	ocit
water	lwix	lilk
creek	wak'ai	wakai
earth	xowai	xotui
world	ho'g'il	holki'
dog	hkun	tvkun
grizzly bear	wuc'o	nohoo
coyote	x'niu	kniu
deer	xow	xui
elk	xongui	noxgui
eagle	wo'ccal	wi'cuui
hummd	x'ots	hots
rattlesnake	wut-it-	tut-it-
small fish	wupit-	lupits
salmon	gkwuxit	gkyuxit
eat	xut-gu	xut-gu
drink	uguu-gu	uguu-gu
sleep	wuxi-ku	wui-ku
talk	wut-ku	yut-ku
run	wuxim-ku	lhim-gu
stand	xwuxwi-ku	wuwi-gu
sit	kowur-ku	kuloc-gu
greeting	xuwuxu	kuwuxu
where?	xiw'ou	kiluu
where are you going?	xiw'ou nu tun'i(u)	kiluu nu thuu
his	nu'in	nuin

CHUKCHANSI.

Pronouns:

S 1	nu	nim	nun-un
S 2	mu	min	
S 3		nuin	anum-un
P 1 in.	nui		
P 3		anunugun	

The locatives nun-un, by me, and anum-un, at him, were translated "here" and "there." It is not probable that the hypothetical objective of the third person singular, anum, to which anum-un points, has any actual existence. Yaselmani

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Chukchansi
Chauchila

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anam-in-wa, them, has the same hypothetical base, and this base does not occur in Yauelmani.

Demonstratives:

hi, locative he-u.

[ki, not obtained], locative ki-n-eu.

Nouns:

op-in, sun's.

nasi-n, rattlesnake's.

hoyim-h-an, of the Hoyima.

teaueli-h-an, of the Chauchila.

The locative in -u, -au, -iu is frequent.

Verbs:

-ka, imperative: winis-ka, hulos-ka, xat-ka, woi-ka, gun-ka, taic-ka, adj-idj-ka; heu-ne-k, pana-k.

-xon, continuative: yuneun-xon, quakes, honhon-xon, breathes, paix-im-xon, menstruates (honhon, heart, payax, blood).

-an, past: tac-an, panai-an.

-it, passive: tuy-han-it, be shot.

-wic, reflexive: dani-wis-an, dui-wae, puxpux-wae.

-in, intransitive: heu-n-en, thus, heu-ne-k, do thus!

CHAUCHILA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 in.			magin
P 1 in.	mai		main

Demonstratives:

he, this, poss. he-n-in, loc. he-u.

ka, that, loc. k-eu.

wat, who, some one.

hileu, where?

Nouns:

nopop-in father's.

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Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -ł-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels af the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ac-ac-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: daue-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-e-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, hoyo-wuc, lon-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo naxon dut, Chauchila hileu nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

haulen dut, Chauchila hileu nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

haul ma dut, Chukchansi haual ma du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi heu-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wakichi
Dumna
Wechikhit
Nutunuta

*197 wi-hin, say.
193 wiy-dahin, said; Dumna, wiy-in.
192 ut-upa ma wi-hin, Dumna ma ti-ma wi-hi, did you say it?
han hin duta, Dumna hawi an dita, what is the matter?

Wakichi, Pitkat-i, and Heyima were said to use buua, not tekxa, for dog. This would include them with Chunchila, Chulamni, and probably Henchi in the valley half of the Northern group, as contrasting with Chuckchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna of the foot-hill half of the same group.

Pronouns:

	WECHIKHIT.	
S 1	na	nim
S 2	ma	min
S 3		amin
D 1 ex.		numbgin
D 1 in.	mak	
P 1 in.	mai	
P 2	min	

Demonstratives:

hehi, this, hetam, here; ga, that, gau, there; wat-oku, han-uku, hiye-uku or hiye-uk, who? what? where?

Nouns:

p'an-in, world's.

Verbs:

holue-k, sit! wan-ka, give!
taut-a-xo, kill; teow'-xo, work.
tin, go.
-in suffix: xat-en, lihim-en, hatm-en, wipil-en, terai-en, ail-en, ugu-on, woy-on, wow'l-on.
-wic reflexive: tanyu-wis, hoyo-woe, dat-in-was.

NUTUNUTU.

Pronouns: na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.

Demonstratives: hehe-n, apparently possessive; hetam, here; gau, there.

Verbs: xat-k, ugun-k, eil-k; woni-an, huite-in, taow-an.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		makin
P 1 in.	mai		

Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, poss. ke-in, loc. ke-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

11 yète-am	16 teolp-om
12 batad-om	17 nomte-om
13 copi-om	18 mune-am
14 hotep-om	19 coponhot-min
15 yite-am	

Nouns:

tatci, pl. tatcèteayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxòxayi.
teunut, pl. teunòtati.
(wimiltci), pl. wimèlatci.
(wetcixit), pl. witcèxatci.
(wowol), pl. wowòwoli.
(nutununtu), pl. nutanî-ie-a.
witep, child, pl. witip-ate, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -e-xo.
Preterite: -shin.
Future-present: -in.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Nutunutu
Chunut

*197 Agent: -ite.
193 (Future passive): -nite, -nit.
192 Reflexive: -wie.
Causative: -la.
Future particle: min.
Negative particle: ohom, ôm.

Tachi phrases:

hô-in pûne	his dog.
pune-un dadat.	dog's foot.
min mai oy-in âwo	shall we move across, we shall move to the other side.
hiinta ôm na min hot'-ô-xo hoyowoe	(?) not I your know name.
hiok ma xo hôtci	where you live now?
hô-u hâ xo toxii	there (this-at) I live west.
ôm na mam cil-ahin hiâmi	not I you saw long.
hiok ma ta	where you go?
hô-u na tan nim tco-u	there I go my house-at.
hîk min tci	where your house?
hô-u ya nb-a nihet-in nim tco-u	there I live elder-brother's my house-at.
ôm nim t-a witip-hai nhoe	not my (?) children younger-brother's.
e-oybi-in pli	antelope's road, milky way.
yokote	person.
yokteo-lis	somebody.
nhteo-in, mohala-n	man's, woman's.
xocima-n	of the northerners.
tde-ite	a kind of medicine man (maker).
nohot-ite	ceremonial clown.
yêt-au	all (one-at).
dat-in-wae	rattlesnake ceremony (making-step, = dai-da-âite).
munoi	jimson-weed (tanai).
munuy-uwne	jimson-weed-drinking-ceremony (tany-uwis).

CHUNUT.

Pronouns: na, I, ma, thou, mak, we two.

Demonstratives: hetam, here, apparently from stem hi; ki, this, ke-u, there; ga, that; wat-uk, who; han-uk, what, hiye-uk, where.

Nouns: tolno-in op, night's luminary, moon.

Verbs: The imperative ending was usually heard as -ga. The continuative -xo appears in oho-xo na I like; -an in tah-an; -wie in hoyo-woe; -ite in tsalai-wiy-êits.

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Chunut
Choinck

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WO 'LASI.

Pronouns found are na, mą, mak, nim, min, amin.
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, hin.
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyôku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
zat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-ĕite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

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The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

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1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxäle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yōuyahè
wlähè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yōuyalhè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wlähè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükchamni.

wita	t'öpük	yo	nahaate
said	beaver	and	otter
wita	tañ wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju ma-nan
said	him	ohowish-medicine-man	shot you me
ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan t'uiju
then	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	goloñkil	t·öödl
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake
am-nan	piteiu'		
not me	touch		
a-ma	haa	hawad'i	
not you	anything	can-do	
dok'on	teixae		
belly-full	(lie)		
doxmadhin[1]	t·öödl		
(rush-pile)	rattlesnake		
am-nan	piteiu		
not me	touch		
wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said	not you	anything	can-do
tiñelhan	ma	t·öödl	
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake	

[1] Mandin, catch, take, step.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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dok'on belly-full	teixae-ma (lie) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do!
yapkanhin many-trees	t·öödl rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixae (lie)	
a-ma not you	haa anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·öödl rattlesnake	
to'ododin white	ma you	enea eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	

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The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

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6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

wèhè yôhô
woke yoke

na kiltcau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagawiw
(invisible)

widâta not'
meet

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ewe
who brave!

yèhu
yoke

xomòt-i mây-a tân-iyo
south we go

yèha
yoke

pinèt'iux na tcay-e
oak I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kè na
(name!) (name!) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipui
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nâyu
serve

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
woke yoke

nan-a ge ma ha wilhin
me you (do not mind)

èkak toan-a witcèpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ẽka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not witeep but witop. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of to for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that his father said to him:

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulan
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi head-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (persons)

piwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (persons)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form biwaeñ and Tulamni biawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xo t'uit'al dupit·
where this about flesh

wi xi min ta wateam shōdlad
well, this your that feather-head-ornament is-pointing

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

nèbedjin xolònon
(notes of scratching)

teuyuak ma ha tala tāaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (rules)

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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

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yileyalè			
earthquake			
silika	uim	teieau	
see	my	emergence-at	
walāliu	teoxil-a	māyu	
at-open-place	eagle		

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam	wiliteyan	muyukun		
you	(in-front-of)	whirl		
yèhā				
yeha				
uyayet	ke	teèkèyn	māyin	p'aanin
(mourn-for)	that	string	our	world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na	kalu			
I	coyote			
naan	kalu			
we	coyotes			
ama	p'an	widji	taeki	
then	earth	told	these	
ama	p'an	widji		
then	earth	told		
a-ma-naa-hi		k'uyuk'tad		
not you me will		scratch		

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaliu-na	yawud		
coyote I	(do-thus)		
ama	na	t-ipinit	lòlènae
then	I	from-above	(twirled)
kaliu-na	yaud		
coyote-I	(do-thus)		

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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu	wita
coyote	said
hanham-na	kaiiu-na
what-am I?	coyote I
wi	idkau-un	na
well,	water-in	I
hanham-na	
what-am I?	
kaiiu-na	
coyote I	

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu	nau	t'ui	eik'an-nim
here	me	shoot	side-in my
kaiyuwin	mam	ta	t'uyoc
coyote's	you	that	arrow

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a	nan
who	me
t'uyou	
shoots!	
t·ipiuit	
from-above	
t'uyou	
shoots!	
yèiteai	
runs	
t'uyou	
shoots!	
wèhèn	
when	

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyiu	nnau
return	we
nòtu	nnau	xuyiu
east	we	return
tahitcipau	
to-Tehachapi	
p'annin	
land's	

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22. Mountain-sheep song.

'hiyeu-na ukunumū
or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dōnto ukun
far I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oyuoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

limini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run us-two

hiam-ā na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunau nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait· hāhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dahaud-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

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Yokol dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-na	taxin
again	do you	come!

wa	ha	mni	kitewin
far	something	we	will-go

wa	na	kitiu
far	I	go

todomit	na	idkin
do-not-find	I	water's

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)

hāini	hamāna
(fly	what-we!)

mòxumxai
(Pleiades)

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan
return	to-me! (we!)

xoiyu	nan
return	(bis)

ama	nim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling

t·uwe	nau
beat	me

dokoi-nim
game my

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
naamtayo	
lauiyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t·awat·e	beat

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533 30. Another.

539 yuhĭ luluməi
192 yuhĭməi lulĭməi
əwəwa kunəma
tanlyo
yapĭwipiwiməi
tawana təiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tĭ	you
hayăwiyu	(ridicule)
lăkoyowani	(ignorant)
wantin	whose
humuyu hilĕ	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimĭne	cold
wanĭt wilima	from-far (?)
lană-na-ma	hear
hòsĭmi	cold

782 788 786 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yaudmani. Evidently a fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously, with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yaudmani. The r occurring in pitsariut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782 silkawil nan
192 silka-nan tŏseiut (= number)
539 silka-nan bamăciut
silka-nan yoxăxait (= number)
silka-nan etcèput

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silka-nau pitsuriut
see me name

silka-nau tsukit
see me name

silka-nau ukat
see me name (looked)

yòt·a mau amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·au t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

mainyiu lomto
with-the-large mountain

mainyiu silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

mainyiu witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·au polut-nim
together body my

ucuk-nim
heart my

yèt·au-mu-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·èpani
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

dauk
day

yò-ma
and you

toino
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nau-silèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·au ki
together this

p'nan
world

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782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tŏwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tŏwshiut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashiut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaltin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yuhhahhalt

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	have	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave me	with-a-little	sun	
anò nan	yòt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)	
(not) for-me	altogether	eat-it	
heneit nan	mitèni		
leave me	with-a-little		

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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts.

miin	ma	ðyiu	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
ohom	ma	heha	xoyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shashonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

[p. 6-A]

193 196 tain notions that are generalized. Although English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application; and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

● 192 196 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ɬubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wipwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward"
(as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

[P.6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and
out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is
obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling,
which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is
the sense of violence and bizarreness which these
verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic conscious-
ness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form,
as well as their content, is anomalous in the
Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two
elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus,"
being added to another stem defining the nature
of the activity. The technique of stem composi-
tion, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs no-
where else in the language. Furthermore, a num-
ber of the "do" verbs, particularly those re-
ferring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle,"
tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make
a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the
air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only
absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out
of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts.
In their meanings, in their form, and in their
phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to
the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like
an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic
church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out
of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a
few petrified noun derivatives are left in these
dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were
formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one
dialect, Yaudmani, have they been found as a
fully operative and productive set of verbs. But
they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they
are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my inform-
ant's eight-year-old son was addressing to him-
self. Only with the greatest difficulty could I
coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which
his child had used and to give me further examples
of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the
essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some
time later did he tell me that these words were
used primarily by children. But even after he
had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do"
verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously.
A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our
work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the